1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

supporting Theodoros' children, particularly as the three children who are at school must be well dressed and well shod to uphold the family's prestige before the children of the villagers and the other Sarakatsani who are trying to emulate them. Dissatisfaction, it must be stressed, is not expressed by those brothers who have no children. The attitude of the unmarried brother, or even of the married brother without children, remains one of common identification and mutual sharing without the keeping of any conscious account. But the brother who has become a parent must adopt a more calculating attitude if he is to fulfil this new role according to accepted expectations.

For the same reasons, although brothers in an earlier phase of the extended family's development willingly delegate the control of a common purse to the senior brother, they find this arrangement less congenial at a later stage when the pressure of anxieties about the future of their families of marriage begins to be felt. The different spending habits of brothers, which within limits were formerly merely an incident in the common identification of siblings, later become difficult to ignore. Theodoros himself admits that 'he wastes money easily' by standing drinks in the coffee-shop and playing cards, whereas Demetrios the second brother has a reputation for being tight-fisted and careful. Eleutherios the third brother is somewhat uncouth and feels ill at ease in the coffee-shop. Vasili and Aristoteles resemble their eldest brother and like to drink and play cards when the opportunity presents itself. Demetrios admits that Theodoros must spend money in the coffee-shop to keep in with people and to know what is going on. But he thinks that often he spends more money than is necessary. No doubt his drinking companions account him a fine fellow, but this hardly assists Demetrios in his problems. Demetrios privately grumbled to me when Theodoros bought a fifty shilling pocket watch for Aristoteles the youngest brother. Aristoteles was the favourite of Theodoros, Demetrios complained. The boy had herded his sheep well enough for several years by using the sun and stars. The truth was that he wanted a watch because some of the other young shepherds had watches. Had I not observed how he now rushed up to everybody and asked them if they wanted to know the time and, before they could answer, pulled out the new watch simply to show them that he had one? Admittedly every man must have

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EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

respect from the son, serve to dissuade the latter from any attempt at precocious self-assertion. And it protects a man from the ridicule of his equals; for if a youth answers his father's remarks or instructions in a rude or argumentative fashion, other men smile with satisfaction and say that already 'the boy is acting as family head' (τὸ παιδὶ κάνει τὸν τσέλιγγα).

The respect of the son is a general attitude which accepts the authority of the father as right and legitimate. A son shows his respect for his father by carrying out conscientiously the instructions he is given. If he is under the age of twenty, he does not smoke or drink ouzo in his father's presence. Similarly, he does not swear or make coarse remarks or jokes about sexual matters before his father. If a youth is sitting in the village coffee-shop when his father enters, he unobtrusively gets up and leaves. Drinking, smoking, and playing cards in the coffee-shop are the social activities of those equal in status, and are therefore incompatible with the respect owed by a son to his father. After a young man returns from his military service, when he is about twenty-three years of age, he will begin to drink and smoke with his father at home, a step which he generally takes at the express invitation of the father. The son no longer has occasion to leave the coffee-shop, but this is because a father knowing his son to be there stays at home or, in a large village, goes to another shop; the son, similarly, avoids giving embarrassment and showing disrespect to the father by entering the shop if he knows he is there. If the son is in the shop, the father understands that it is unfair to expect him to leave. After his return from military service, the young man becomes a member of the 'pallikari' group[1] of fully adult but unmarried men of the community. When he is not with the sheep, he is expected to show himself in the forum of the coffee-shop, to give periodic proof of certain outward signs of his manliness by drinking, smoking, arguing, and by general self-assertion. He cannot do these things in front of his father, without diminishing his father's honour and his own prestige.

The idea of an adolescent or adult son striking his father is

[1] Nowadays this consists of the young unmarried men who have completed their military service, that is of unmarried men between the ages of 23 and 30. The ideal type παλληκάρι is the hero warrior unencumbered with family responsibilities.